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CICERO PHILIPPIC II.

A TRANSLATION

BY

J. H. HAYDON, M.A. LOND. AND CAMB.

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CICERO: PHILIPPIC II.

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I.—1. By what dispensation of providence in my case, fathers of the senate, shall I say it comes to pass that no one has been the foe of the republic within these last twenty years, without at the same time declaring war on me as well? And indeed there is no need for any one to be named by me; do you yourselves recall them to your minds. To me they have given satisfaction beyond my fondest wish; as for you, Antonius, I wonder that you do not tremble at the deaths of those whose deeds you rival. And yet in the case of others I was not so astonished at this fact, for not one of them was my adversary of his own accord; all were attacked by me for the republic's sake. You, when not outraged by a word even, that you should show yourself more headstrong than Catilina, more ungovernable than Clodius, of your own free-will you assailed me with invective, and considered that your estrangement from me would be your recommendation in the eyes of traitorous Romans.

2. What am I to think? that I am despised? I do not see in my life, or in my influence, or in my achievements, or in this my medium ability, what Antonius can possibly scorn. Did he believe, then, that in the senate a slight to me could most readily be brought about? but this estate has conferred on many very famous Romans the mark of having well administered the republic, but on me alone

that of having delivered it. Did he, then, intend to vie with me in an oratorical contest? This indeed is a favour. Why, what favour is more ample, what more lavish, than for me to speak at the same moment on my own behalf and in opposition to Antonius? It is *this* assuredly: he did not think it could be demonstrated to men of his own stamp that he was his country's foe, unless he was my opponent. 3. But before I give him my answer on the other counts, I will say a few words on the friendship which he charges me with having outraged, a charge which I hold to be most serious.

II. He complained that on some occasion or other I came into court in opposition to his interests. Was I, then, not to come against a stranger on behalf of an intimate and relative? Was I not to come to oppose influence gained not by the confidence of merit, but by youth and beauty?—to counteract an injustice which my opponent upheld by the favour of a most unscrupulous tribune's veto, and not by the praetors' code? But I fancy this was mentioned by you with this purpose, to recommend yourself to the meanest estate, while every one recalled to mind that you are the son-in-law of a freedman, and that your children were grandchildren of Quintus Fadius, a freedman. "Yes, but you had surrendered yourself to my training"—for so you said—; you had frequented my house. Really, had you done so, you would have done better for your good name, better for your chastity. But neither did you do so, nor, if you had the fancy, would you have been allowed to do so by Gaius Curio. 4. You said that you resigned in my favour your candidature for the augur's office. What incredible effrontery! what memorable shamelessness! Why, at the moment Cnaeus Pompeius and Quintus Hortensius proposed me at the earnest request of the whole college—nor indeed was it permissible to be proposed by more than two—you were insolvent, and did not think you could be preserved in any way except by the overthrow of the republic. Now were you able at that season to have stood for the office, when Gaius Curio was not in Italy? or, at the time when you were elected, could you have carried a single tribe without Curio? and *his* associates also were condemned for

riot, because they had been, 'twas said, too enthusiastic in your favour.

III.—5. “Ah, but I made use of your kindness.” Which? and yet I have always paraded that very point you mention. I preferred to confess I was in your debt, rather than appear to any one of little common sense not sufficiently grateful. But which kindness? that you did not kill me at Brundisium? The man whom the conqueror himself, who had offered the chieftaincy to you out of all his brigands (as you yourself were wont to boast), had intended to be unharmed and had ordered to proceed to Italy—were you to kill *him*? Suppose you could have done. What other boon, fathers of the senate, belongs to brigands save that they can assert, that they have given life to those from whom they have not taken it away? And if this were a boon, those who slew the man by whom they had been preserved (and you yourself are wont to call them most renowned) would never have gained so great glory. Now what sort of a boon is it, that you restrained yourself from a vile crime? But in this matter I ought not to have thought it so agreeable not to have been killed by you as calamitous that you could have performed it with impunity.

6. But granted that it is a boon, since indeed no greater one could be received at the hands of a brigand: wherein can you call me ungrateful? Ought I not, then, to have complained concerning the destruction of the republic, lest I should appear ungrateful towards you? Why in that complaint, woeful as it was and piteous, but incumbent on me in view of this rank in which the senate and people of Rome has placed me, what did I utter abusively? what intemperately? what save in friendly tone? And what self-restraint did this prove, to refrain from invective, when making complaint concerning Marcus Antonius! particularly when you had flung to the winds the last vestiges of the republic; when everything was on sale at your house in the most shameful trafficking; when you acknowledged that the laws which were never published were proposed both on behalf of yourself and by yourself; when, augur though you were, you had abolished the auspices, and consul as you were, you had abolished the veto; when you

were scandalously surrounded by men in arms; when you were daily embarking on all sorts of excesses in a respectable house, worn out as you were by wine-bibbing and profligacy. 7. But for my part, just as though my strife were with Marcus Crassus, with whom I have had many serious ones, and not with an utterly abandoned gladiator, I, while complaining seriously on the score of the republic, said not a word concerning the man. And so I will see to it to-day that he comprehends how great a boon he then received at my hands.

IV. But he actually read aloud letters which he said I had sent him, fellow that he is both devoid of breeding and unversed in the practices of society. Why, who that was only slightly acquainted with the usage of men of tone, ever published and read in public the letters sent to him by a friend when some misunderstanding had occurred between them? What is this but to banish from life life's fellowship, to abolish the intercourse between friends far distant? How many jests are wont to occur in letters, which, if divulged, would appear stupid! How many matters that are serious, and yet fit in no wise for publication! 8. Be this the proof of his ill-breeding; behold his inconceivable folly! What argument have you with which to confront me, my eloquent sir, as you already seem to be in the eyes of Tiro and Mustela? And now that at this very moment they stand sword in hand in the sight of the senate, I too shall think you eloquent if you show how you will defend them on a charge of murder. But with what pray would you confront me if I were to deny that I had ever sent you that letter you quote? With what witness would you refute me? By the handwriting? Yes, you have a profitable expertness in that. How could you? Why, they are in my secretary's hand. I am already beginning to envy your master for teaching you to be an ignoramus at the high price I will in a moment reveal. 9. For what is less the mark, I do not say of an orator, but of a *man*, than to bring against an opponent an objection of such a nature that, if the latter has denied it in a word, the bringer cannot advance a step further? However, I do not deny it: and in that very deed of yours I convict you not only of ill-breeding, but also of lunacy.

Why, what word in the letter you read is not inspired by good-breeding, propriety, and good-will? Now your whole accusation is that I do not think meanly of you in that letter; that I write as if to a Roman, and to a worthy man, not as though to a villain and a brigand. However, for my part, though I could fitly do so when provoked by you, I nevertheless will not divulge your letter in which you ask me to permit you to bring back a man who shall be nameless from banishment, and add an oath that you will not do it against my will; and you obtained permission from me. For why should I thrust myself in upon your recklessness? a man whom neither the influence of this estate, nor the reputation of the Roman people, nor any laws could restrain. 10. But indeed what reason had you for asking me, if the man about whom you were putting the question was restored by Caesar's decree? But you see, he wanted my favour to come in, in an affair in which none of his own even could come in, the decree once being enacted.

V. But, fathers of the senate, now that I have to say not only something on my own behalf, but also much against Marcus Antonius, the one thing I beg of you, that you hear me graciously when speaking on my own behalf, the other I myself will see to, viz. that you may hear me attentively when I speak against *him*. One request I make at the same time: if you have perceived my temperateness and self-restraint not only in my whole life but also in my speech-making, do not think I have forgotten myself to-day when I have answered in the way in which he challenged me. I will not treat him as a consul: he for his part did not treat *me* as an ex-consul. And yet he is in no sense a consul—either in his manner of life, or in his political conduct, or in the way he was appointed; while I am beyond all question an ex-consul. 11. So then, in order that you might comprehend what sort of a consul he avowed himself, he cast in my teeth my own consulship: a consulship which was mine in word, in reality yours, fathers of the senate. For what did I determine, what negotiate, what perform, save in accordance with the advice, the sanction, and expressed opinion of this estate? Is it this, my wise gentleman (not eloquent alone), you

have ventured to censure in the presence of those by whose advice and wisdom it was carried out? But who was found to censure my consulship except Publius Clodius and yourself? And his end indeed is in waiting for you just as for Gaius Curio: since you have at your home what was fraught with death to each of them. 12. My consulship is not satisfactory to Marcus Antonius, yet it was satisfactory to Publius Servilius, to mention him first of the ex-consuls of that date who died most recently: it was so to Quintus Catulus, whose influence will live for ever in our republic: it was to the two Luculli, to Marcus Crassus, Quintus Hortensius, Gaius Curio, Gaius Piso, Manius Glabrio, Manius Lepidus, Lucius Volcatius, and Gaius Figulus, to Decimus Silanus and Lucius Murena, who then were consuls designate; what was satisfactory to the ex-consuls was so also to Marcus Cato; who by passing away from life guarded against many misfortunes, especially that he did not behold you as consul. But especially did Gnaeus Pompeius welcome my consulship, and the moment he saw me on departing from Syria, embracing and congratulating me, he said it would be by my favour that he should set eyes on his country. But why do I mention individuals? It was so satisfactory to a most crowded senate that there was no one who did not offer me thanks as to a father; no one who did not set down to my credit his life, his wealth, his children, nay the republic.

VI.—13. But since the republic has been bereaved of the many men of high character whom I have named, let us proceed to the living two of whom are left of the list of ex-consuls. Lucius Cotta, a man of consummate ability and discretion, when I had carried out those deeds which you censure, moved to decree a public thanksgiving in most laudatory language, and those very ex-consuls whom I have just named and the senate in a body voted with him: a distinction which since the foundation of our city has been conferred on no man in his civil capacity before myself—not one. 14. Your uncle, Lucius Caesar—with how powerful a speech, with what firmness, with what weight did he give his vote against the husband of his own sister, your step-father! When you should have taken *him* as the director

and guide of all your plans and your whole life, you decided to be a copy of your stepfather rather than of your uncle. His advice I then used when consul, though no relative: did you, his sister's son, ever refer to him any matter bearing on the republic? Why, to whom does he refer them? Gracious heavens! to those of course of whose birthdays even we are forced to hear. 15. Antonius is not coming down to the Forum to-day. Why? He is giving a birthday banquet in his park. To whom? I will mention no names. Suppose at one time to some Phormio or other, at another to Gnatho, at another again to Ballio. What iniquitous infamy on the fellow's part! What intolerable effrontery, villainy, and licentiousness! Though you have so nearly related to you the leading senator, a peerless Roman, are you to refer to him nothing concerning the republic; are you to refer to those who have no property of their own and are draining yours to the lees?

VII. Your consulship doubtless is beneficial, mine was ruinous. Have you so utterly lost your modesty with your chastity that you have dared to utter this in that temple in which I was wont to consult that senate which erstwhile in its prime guided the world, but you have planted men most abandoned sword in hand? 16. Why, you even dared—what is there, though, which you would not dare?—you dared to say that in my consulship the slope of the Capitol was packed with armed slaves. I was bringing violence to bear on the senate, I suppose, in order that those iniquitous decrees of the senate might be passed. Ah! wretch, whether the facts are not known to you—for you know nothing good—or whether they are, how could you speak so shamelessly in the presence of such men! Why, what Roman knight, what high-born youth, save you, who of any estate, that remembered he was a citizen, was not to be found on the slope of the Capitol when the senate was in this temple? Who was there that did not volunteer? And yet neither could the clerks keep pace, nor the registers contain their names. 17. For when ruffians were making confession concerning the destruction of their native land, on being forced by the information of their accomplices, by their own handwriting, and I might say by the voice of their letters, to

the effect that they had conspired to fire the city, to butcher the citizens, to ravage Italy, and to blot out the republic; who would there be but would be roused to defend the safety of all? especially when the Roman senate and people had such a leader there that, were there any like him now, the same fate which chanced to them would have happened to you. He says the body of his stepfather was not given up by me for burial. Really this is what even Publius Clodius never said. But, since I was rightly his adversary, I am sorry that he was outstripped by you in all vices. 18. But how did it occur to you to impress on our mind again that you were reared in Publius Lentulus' house? Did you fear, then, that we should not think you could have turned out such a villain by nature, unless training too had assisted?

VIII. But you were so witless, that all through your speech you were contending with yourself; so that you not only said things mutually inconsistent but eminently disconnected and contradictory; so that your quarrel with me was not so great as that with yourself! You confessed all the time that your stepfather had been engaged in such a serious crime, but you complained that he was punished. So you eulogised what in particular belongs to me; you blamed what altogether belongs to the senate. For the arrest of the guilty is mine; the punishment belonged to the senate. The eloquent gentleman does not perceive that he is praising the man against whom he is speaking; that he is censuring the men in whose presence he is speaking. 19. To proceed, how much, I do not say recklessness does it show—for he hankers after being reckless—but how much folly, a thing he by no means intends, to breathe a syllable about the slope of the Capitol, when armed men are found among our benches? when, in this shrine of Concord, gracious heavens! in which during my consulship beneficial decisions were pronounced whereby we have lived to this day—in this shrine stand men stationed sword in hand? Blame the senate; blame the equestrian estate which then was united with the senate; blame all the estates, all the citizens, provided you acknowledge that this estate is at this very moment being surrounded by Ityraeans. This you say so shamelessly, not on account of recklessness, but

because, since you cannot see the vast inconsistency, you are assuredly an ignoramus. Why, what is more insane than, when you yourself have taken up arms that are ruinous to the republic, to cast in another's teeth arms that were beneficial? 20. But at a certain point even you meant to be humorous. Good heavens, how it misbecame you! And your fault is considerable in that. For you might have borrowed a little wit from your actress wife. "Let arms yield to the toga of peace." Well? did they not yield at that epoch? But afterwards the toga yielded to your arms. Then let us raise the question whether it was better for the arms of villains to yield to the liberty of the Roman people, or for our liberty to yield to your arms. Yet I shall not make you a longer answer on the score of the poetry; so much I will say in brief: that you have no acquaintance with poetry nor with any literature at all: but that I have never failed either the republic or my friends, and nevertheless in every class of records left by me have brought it to pass that my nightly labours and my writings should confer some service on the youth and some glory too on the name of Rome. But these topics are not for this occasion: let us attend to what is more important.

IX.—21. You said Publius Clodius was slain by my machinations. What pray would people think, if he had then be killed, when under the eyes of the Roman people you pursued him in the Forum with a sword, and would have finished the business unless he had rushed on to the stairs of a bookseller's shop, and by barricading them had nipped your assault in the bud? Herein indeed I backed *you*, I allow, but that I urged you to it not even you yourself allege. But as for Milo, I could not even back him; for he finished the affair before any one imagined he would do it. "Yes; but I urged him to it." No doubt Milo's spirit was such that he could not serve the republic without a man to urge him! "Ah! but I was glad." What then? amid so great gladness of the whole body of citizens was I alone forced to be sad? 22. And yet there was an investigation concerning Clodius' death—not appointed with sufficient care, it is true; for what was the good of having an investigation made by a new law concerning a man who

had killed his fellow, when there was a commission of investigation already appointed by the laws? However, an investigation was made:—the charge, then, that no one uttered against me at the time when the affair took place, were you found to bring it so many years later? 23. But with reference to what you ventured to assert and that at length, viz. that it was by my means that Pompeius was divorced from Caesar's friendship, and therefore it was by my fault that civil war arose: herein you have been misled, not indeed in the fact as a whole, but (and this is the most important) in the dates.

X. I left nothing undone in the consulship of Marcus Bibulus, that most excellent citizen, as far as I was able to act and to exert myself, to withdraw Pompeius from his alliance with Caesar. But Caesar was more successful in the matter; for he himself severed Pompeius from intimacy with me. But after Pompeius surrendered himself heart and soul to Caesar, why should I have attempted to withdraw him from the latter? None but a fool would hope it: none but a man lost to shame would try to persuade him. 24. However, two occasions befell us, on which I recommended some step to Pompeius in opposition to Caesar. I should like you to censure those, if you can: the one, to the effect that he should not lengthen by a law Caesar's command for five years; the second, that Pompeius should not permit a bill to be brought in that any account of Caesar should be taken in his absence. And if I had successfully recommended either of these two motions, we should never have plunged into our present misfortunes. And I again, when already Pompeius had bestowed all his own power and that of the Roman people on Caesar, and had all too late begun to perceive what I had long before foreseen, and when I saw that an iniquitous war was being brought upon our country: I repeat, I did not cease to propose peace, harmony, and compromise, and those words of mine are familiar to many: "Would that either, Gnaeus Pompeius, you had never made alliance with Gaius Caesar or had never broken it! The one alternative was demanded by your self-respect, the other by your foresight." These, Marcus Antonius, were ever my plans concerning Pompeius

and the state as well : and had they prevailed, the state would be erect, and you would have plunged headlong in your crimes, in beggary, and in infamy.

XI.—25. But these matters are ancient history : while this is fresh, the charge that Caesar was slain by my design. I am by this time afraid that it may seem that I attached to myself a collusive accuser (a thing that is most disreputable)—a man who should glorify me not only with my own merits, but those of other people. Why, who ever heard my name among that partnership in a most glorious deed? and whose name, provided he was in that list, has been hidden?—hidden, do I say?—whose was not in a moment blazoned abroad? I could sooner say that some men boasted of their deed, in order that they might be thought to have been members of that partnership, when they had not been implicated, than that any one who had been could mean to keep himself secret. 26. Further, how likely is it that my name could have passed unnoticed amid so many men in part unknown to fame, in part young men who screen no one? Really now, if authorisers for freeing their native land were missing to those who were an authorisation to themselves, was I to stir up men named Brutus, when each of them daily beheld the bust of Lucius Brutus, one of them that of Ahala as well? With these ancestors, then, should they seek advice from strangers rather than from their own family? and from outside rather than from home? What? Gaius Cassius born in that family which could not endure, I do not say the tyranny, but not even the predominance of any one, wanted me to authorise him, I suppose : a man who, even without ~~these most famous heroes~~, would have finished this affair in Cilicia at the mouth of the river Cydnus, if Caesar had moored his vessels to the bank to which he had determined, and not to the opposite one. 27. Was Gnaeus Domitius roused to regain our freedom not by the death of his most famous father, not by the decease of his uncle, nor by the robbery of his position, but by my prompting? Did I, then, successfully urge it on Gaius Trebonius? a man on whom I should not have dared to urge it even : wherefore the state owes him still greater gratitude, him who set the freedom

of the Roman people above the friendship of one man, and preferred to be the banisher rather than the sharer of sovereignty. Did Lucius Tullius Cimber, then, follow my prompting? rather did I wonder he had performed that deed than think he would perform it, and that because he had been unmindful of his obligations, but mindful of his country's claims. Again, the two Servilii—Casca shall I call them or Ahalas?—do you hold that they too were roused by my promptings rather than by affection for their country? It would be tedious to run through the rest; and this too is glorious for the state, that there were so many, while for them themselves it is full of honour.

XII.—28. Ah! but remember how our shrewd gentleman convicted me. On Caesar's death, he says, Marcus Brutus, immediately raising aloft his blood-stained dagger, called aloud by name on Cicero, and congratulated him on the regaining of freedom. Why on me by preference? Because I knew it. Take care lest this was the reason for calling on me that, when he had performed a deed resembling the deeds I had performed, he called me by preference to witness that he had shown himself a rival of my glorious achievements. 29. But you, who surpass all men in stupidity, do you not understand that, if it were a crime (as you charge me) to have wished Caesar to be killed, it is a crime also to have rejoiced at Caesar's death? Why, what difference is there between one who urges to and one who approves of a deed? or what does it matter whether I wished it to take place or rejoice that it has? Is there anyone then, except those who rejoiced in his kingship, who wished that act undone, or condemned it when done? So, then, all the world is to be blamed. For indeed all loyal citizens killed Caesar, as far as in them lay. Some lacked counsel, others courage, others opportunity: the will, no one. 30. But notice the idiocy of the fellow or brute beast, I may call him. For he said as follows: "Brutus, whom I mention with all due respect, holding his blood-stained dagger, called aloud on Cicero: from which it must be understood that he was an accomplice." So, then, I am called a criminal by you, a man who (you suspect) suspected something: the man who exhibited a dripping dagger is mentioned by you with

all due respect? Be it so: let there be this idiotcy in your language: how much greater is it in your deeds and ideas? Decide this at length, sir consul: what view you take of the cause maintained by the Bruti, Gaius Cassius, Gnaeus Domitius, Gaius Trebonius: sleep off your over-night's debauch, I say, and let the fumes pass away. Are we to bring torches to bear on a man that can go to sleep on so important a point? Will you never comprehend that you *must* determine whether they who performed the deed you spoke of are guilty of manslaughter or are the champions of freedom?

XIII.—31. Why, do pause a while and take upon you for one instant the thinking powers of a sober man. I, who am their intimate as I myself confess, their accomplice, as I am charged with being by you, I say there is no middle standpoint: I acknowledge that if they are not the deliverers of the Roman people and the preservers of our republic, they are more than assassins, more than murderers, yes, more than parricides, if, that is, it is more heinous to slay the father of one's country than to slay one's own. You, sir, so wise and reflective, what do you call them? If parricides, why do you always name them with all respect both in presence of this estate and before the Roman people? Why, on your motion, was Marcus Brutus exempted from legal restriction if he should have been absent from the city more than ten days? Why were the games of Apollo celebrated with inconceivable respect to Brutus? Why were provinces assigned to Brutus and Cassius? Why were quaestors associated with them? Why was the number of their military advisers increased? And this was carried out by your agency; therefore you do not call them murderers. It follows that they are our deliverers in your opinion, since no third alternative can exist. 32. What is the matter? Am I perplexing you? for perhaps you do not comprehend what is presented rather like a dilemma. However, this is the gist of my argument; since they are acquitted by you of crime, you in the same breath judge them fully worthy of the most honourable rewards. And so I at once withdraw my words. I will write to them to deny it to nobody, if people perhaps ask whether what is cast in my teeth by you is true. Really, I fear that either

my having been kept in the dark may be not honourable to themselves, or that my having been asked and having shirked may be most disgraceful to me. Why, what deed was ever performed, in the name of all that is holy, not only in our city, but in all the world—what deed that was grander? what that was more famous? what that better deserves to be handed down to the everlasting recollection of mankind? Are you comprising me in this partnership as though it were in the Trojan horse among the chieftains? 33. I do not refuse: I even thank you, in whatever spirit you do it. Why, the boon is so great that I do not mention the odium, which you mean to raise against me, in the same breath with the glory. For what lot is more blessed than theirs whom you proclaim were driven out and expelled by you? what spot on earth is either so deserted or so barbarous as not to appear to accost and woo them? what men are so uncivilised but think they have gained the greatest reward of life when they have set eyes on them? nay, what after-age will be found so forgetful, what literary monument so ungrateful as not to attend on their fame with the record of immortality? Pray, *do* link me to such a list.

XIV.—34. But I fear you are not satisfied with one point. For if I had been one of them, I should have rid the state not only of the despot but also of the despotism: and had that been my *stilus*, as people say, believe me, I should have completed not one act alone but the whole play. And yet if it is a serious charge to have wished Caesar to be slain, pray, Antonius, see what is to come to you, who, it is a matter of common knowledge, conceived this design at Narbo with Trebonius, and who, as we saw, were called apart by Trebonius, at the moment Caesar was being killed, on account of complicity in that design? Now for my part—see in how friendly a manner I am dealing with you—I praise you for the good thought you once upon a time conceived: I am grateful to you for not having revealed it: I pardon you for not having done it. (*That deed demanded a man.*) 35. Now if any one should call you into court and make use of that phrase of Cassius, “to whose advantage did it prove to be?” take care, pray, lest you are

entangled. And yet that deed, as you said at any rate, was advantageous to all who were averse to being slaves: to you, however, in particular, who so far from being a slave are actually a tyrant; you who have set yourself free from very heavy debt at the Temple of Ops; you who thanks to the same account-books have squandered a vast amount of money; you to whom so much property was brought from Caesar's house; you at whose home is a most lucrative factory of counterfeit notebooks and signatures, a most iniquitous market of lands, towns, exemptions and taxes. 36. Really now, what circumstance *could* have aided your poverty and your debt save the death of Caesar? You seem somewhat perturbed: have you a lurking fear lest this charge should appear to have reference to you? I set you free from alarm: nobody will ever believe it; it is not like you to confer a benefit on the state; the state possesses as the authors of that most glorious deed men of very high renown: I assert that you merely were glad at it; I do not charge you with having done it. I have replied to the most serious accusations: now I must reply to the rest as well.

XV.—37. You have cast in my teeth Pompeius' camp and all that period. And had my policy and influence prevailed, indeed, at that period, as I have said, you to-day would be a beggar and we should be free; while the republic would not have lost so many generals and armies. For I grant that, when I foresaw the coming of what has happened, I was plunged in such great grief as all other patriotic citizens would have felt had they had the same foresight. I was distressed, distressed, fathers of the senate, that the republic which once was preserved by your policy and mine was in a short time to perish. Nor indeed was I so inexperienced and ignorant of the world as to be broken-hearted on account of my desire of life, the continuation of which would wear me out with chagrin, while the abandonment of it would deliver me from all worry. My wish was that those most excellent men, the guiding stars of the state, should live, so many ex-consuls, so many ex-praetors, so many most honourable senators, and all the flower besides of our nobility and chivalry, and also the armies of our

patriotic citizens: and were they living, we should possess the republic at this day, upon however unfair terms of peace—for to my mind *any* peace with fellow-citizens is more advantageous than civil war. 38. And had this theory gained the day, and had I not been opposed in particular by those for whose life I was taking measures, because they were excited by hope of victory, to pass over other matters, you at any rate would never have remained in this estate, or rather never remained in this our city. Ah! but my speech estranged Gnaeus Pompeius' good-will. Did he, then, love any one more? Did he impart either conversation or advice to any man more frequently? and this indeed was a great thing, for us to abide by the same habit of friendship though at discord concerning the vital interests of the state. I used to examine what were his opinions and views, and he on the other hand what were mine. I was for taking measures for the citizens' safety first, that afterwards we might do so for their prestige; he rather consulted their prestige at the moment. And because each of us understood what line he was following, for that very reason our discord was more endurable. 39. But what opinion that unique and, I might almost say, inspired man had of me, is known by those who followed him to Paphos in the course of his flight from Pharsalus. Never did he make mention of me except in complimentary terms, never except in terms breathing the most friendly regret, while he acknowledged that I had had greater foresight, while he had had better hopes. And you dare to assail me on the score of the man whose friend you confess I was, whose broker you confess you were?

XVI. But let us drop that war in which you were too prosperous. I shall not give a reply on the point of the jests even, which you asserted I made use of in the camp. That camp was indeed full of anxiety, but yet men, in however serious a crisis they find themselves, do at times, if only they are men, give themselves mental relaxation. 40. Now the very fact that the same man censures my gloominess and then again my jesting, is a striking proof that in each I kept the golden mean.

You have said that no legacy falls to me. Would that this charge of yours were true! more of my friends and intimates would now be alive. But how did that idea come into your head? Why, I have entered more than £180,000 as received in the way of legacies. And yet on this head I grant you are more successful. Nobody but a friend made me his legatee, so that some distress of mind was blended with that advantage, whatever it was: the man you never set eyes on, Lucius Rubrius of Casinum, made you his heir. 41. And indeed just see how much the man loved you of whom you do not know whether he was white or black. He passed over his brother's son; he does not even mention the son of Quintus Fufius, a most honourable Roman knight and a dear friend of his—whom he had always styled his heir in public: you he made his heir, whom he had never seen or at any rate never greeted. I should like you to inform me, unless I am troubling you, of what features Lucius Turselius was, of what physique, what borough, what tribe. "I know nothing," you will say, "except what estates he possessed." For that reason, while disinheriting his brother, he made you his heir. He has seized upon many other sums belonging to men utterly unconnected with him by expelling the true heirs with violence, as though he were the heir. 42. Though I was very much surprised at this, your venturing to breathe a syllable about legacies, when you yourself had not taken up that of your father.

XVII. Was it to gather these charges, O maddest of men, that you rehearsed so many days in another man's country-house? though in your case, as your nearest friends give out, you rehearse for the purpose of working off your wine, not to sharpen your intellect. Ah yes! you introduce a master for jest's sake, a professor by the vote of you and your boon-companions, a man whom you allowed to say against you what he wished, a witty gentleman beyond doubt—but it is a fertile theme to spout witticisms at you and your comrades. But see what a difference there is between you and your grandfather! He would say without hurry what was in favour of his case; you utter at full speed what is foreign to yours. 43. What a vast

reward was given to the professor! Listen, listen, fathers of ~~the~~ senate, and learn the losses of the state. You apportioned twelve hundred and fifty acres of plain-land at Leontini to Sextus Clodius the professor, and that, too, free from all burdens, in order that you might learn to be an ignoramus at so great expense to the Roman people. Was this too done, most reckless man, in accordance with Caesar's notebooks? But I will speak at another opportunity not only of the Leontine but also of the Campanian land, which my opponent snatched from the republic and sullied with the most depraved tenants. For because I have sufficiently replied to his accusations, something must be said concerning our critic and censurer himself. Nor indeed shall I lavish all my points so that, if I have once and again to fight to the death (as will be the case), I may always come fresh armed—an opportunity which the number of my opponent's vices and sins bestows upon me.

XVIII.—44. Do you wish us therefore to look into your life from a boy? I think so; let us commence at the beginning. Do you retain in your memory the fact that when not yet of age you went bankrupt? That fault, you will say, is my father's. I grant it; really the plea breathes filial affection. Nevertheless one thing is to be set down to your effrontery, that you took your seat in the "fourteen rows," when by the Roscian law there was a distinct seat for bankrupts, even though a man had gone bankrupt by fortune's fault rather than by his own fault. You assumed the toga of manhood, but Curio quickly came upon the scene. 45. No youth was ever so thoroughly under the thralldom of his master as you were under Curio's. How often did his father expel you from his house? how often did he plant guards to prevent your entering his threshold? while you in spite of all were let down through the tiles by the aid of darkness, at the pressure of reward. But the house could no longer endure those scandals. Are you aware that I am speaking of matters thoroughly familiar? Do you remember the hour when Curio senior was lying in grief on his couch while his son, flinging himself at my feet, was recommending you to my care with tears: he besought me long to

protect you against his father, should he demand £51,000; for so far did he say he had guaranteed on your behalf. Yes, and the man himself, eager with passion, asserted that he would go into exile because he could not endure the loss of separation from you. 46. At this period how serious were the evils of a most illustrious family which I quieted or rather put an end to! I prevailed on the father to pay off the son's debt, and to rescue with the resources of the family property a youth endowed with the highest promise both of mind and talent, and to debar him by his paternal right and authority not only from intimacy but even from meeting with you. When you remembered all this brought about by my agency, would you have dared to provoke me with abuse, were it not that you trust to yonder swords we see?

XIX.—47. But at this point let us drop the outrages and crimes: there are certain matters which I cannot honourably mention, but you can speak of them the more freely because you committed such crimes as you could not hear from a modest adversary. But look at the remaining course of his life, on which I will lightly glance. For my inclination hurries on to what he performed in the civil war amid the severest trials of the state, and to his everyday actions. And I ask that, although these details are far better known to you than to me, you may nevertheless diligently listen to them, as you are doing; for in such questions it is not alone the knowledge but also the recollection of the facts that must rouse men's minds: and yet we must, in my opinion, shorten the intervening details, lest we reach the latter ones too late.

48. The man who dwells on his services towards me was a bosom-friend to Clodius in his tribuneship; he was the firebrand of all the conflagrations of the man at whose house too he contrived "a certain matter" already at that date. He himself understands very well what I am talking of. Then came the journey to Alexandria in defiance of the expressed wish of the senate, in the teeth of the republic and divine will: but he had Gabinius as his leader, the sort of man with whom he could do anything on earth most fittingly. What a home-coming then ensued from there, what sort of a home-coming? from Egypt to the extreme end of Gaul sooner than homewards. What home

again? for each of us then possessed his own home, and yours did not exist anywhere. Home do I say? what spot was there in the world, where you could set foot on your own, except Misenum only, which you held with your partners like Sisapo?

XX.—49. You came from Gaul to stand for the quaestorship. Do be so bold as to say you came to your mother before coming to me. I had already previously received Caesar's despatch to the effect that I should allow atonement to be made to myself by you: and so I did not permit you to say a word even about thanks. Afterwards I found myself courted by you, and you were assisted by me in your candidature for the quaestorship. And at this period indeed you endeavoured to kill Publius Clodius in the Forum with the approval of the Roman people; and while you attempted that affair of your own accord, and not by my urging, nevertheless you gave out to this effect, that you did not think, unless you had killed him, you would ever satisfy me for your wrongs to me. And herein I am utterly surprised, why you avow that Milo performed that deed at my urging, when I never cheered you on when of your own accord offering me that same service. And yet, had you been persistent on that score, I preferred the deed to be set down to your honour rather than to my influence. 50. You were elected quaestor: then without a moment's interval you hurried off to Caesar without a decree of the senate, without drawing the lot, without a special bill; for you considered that that was the sole harbour for poverty, debt, and villainy, when your means of life were lost. There, when by his benefactions and your plunderings you had sated yourself, if that is to sate oneself, to take possession of what you at once toss to the winds, you flew in poverty to the tribuneship, that in that office you might resemble your husband, if you could.

XXI. Listen now, I beg, not to the impure and unrestrained excesses which he has committed against himself and his family good name, but to acts of sacrilege and villainy which he has brought to bear on ourselves and our fortunes, that is on the republic as a whole; for you will find that from Antonius' crime has sprung the fountain-

head of all our woes. 51. For on the first of January in the consulship of Lucius Lentulus and Gaius Marcellus, when you were anxious to prop up the sinking and almost falling republic, and meant to consult the interest of Gaius Caesar himself, if he was of sober mind, then my opponent barred your designs with his tribuneship sold and surrendered, and rendered his neck liable to that axe whereby many have fallen for lesser crimes. It was against you, Marcus Antonius, that the senate, and that too still intact,—ere so many of its brightest lights had been quenched in death—passed the decree which it is customary to pass against a “citizen foeman” by our ancestors’ practice. And you have dared to speak against me before the fathers of the senate, when I had been adjudged by this estate the preserver of the republic, you its foe? The mention of that crime of yours has been dropped, but the recollection of it has not been blotted out. So long as the race of mankind, so long as the name of the Roman people shall stand—and indeed it will be everlasting if you do not prevent it,—so long that ruinous veto of yours will be mentioned. 52. What was the senate doing so hotly, so recklessly, that you, young and alone as you were, prevented the whole estate from passing a decree concerning the safety of the republic, and that not once only, but often, and did not suffer negotiations to be opened up with you concerning the expressed will of the senate? And what was being mooted, except to prevent your intention that the republic should be blotted out and overthrown, when neither the leaders of the state by their entreaty, nor our elders by their admonition, nor a crowded senate by its discussion had been able to stir you from your policy, bartered and already assigned as it was? Then, after trying many other expedients beforehand, that wound was necessarily inflicted upon you which was inflicted on few before you, and not one of them was unscathed: then this estate confided arms to the consuls and other commissions and authorities for use against you, and you would not have escaped, had you not betaken yourself to Caesar’s arms.

XXII.—53. It is you, you, I say, Marcus Antonius, who when Gaius Caesar was desiring to produce universal confusion first furnished him with a pretext for invading his

native land. Why what else did he urge? what excuse for his lunatic policy and action did he advance, except that the veto was overridden, the right of the tribunes was abolished, and Antonius was hampered by the senate? I pass over how untrue, how shallow these assertions were, particularly when no man can have any just ground whatever for taking up arms against his native land. But I say nothing of Caesar: you at any rate must acknowledge that the ground for a most ruinous war centred in your person. 54. Ah! how wretched are you, if you understand this, more wretched still if you do not understand it, that this is being consigned to literature, this is being handed on to tradition, that not even the generation of all centuries to come will ever be forgetful of this, that the consuls were driven out of Italy, and with them Gnaeus Pompeius, who was the glory and lustre of the Roman empire and of the Roman people, that all the ex-consuls who had been permitted by their health to undergo that disaster and flight, that the praetors, ex-praetors, tribunes of the plebs, a large section of the senate, all the generation of our chivalry, and in one word the republic was driven out and banished from its home! 55. As therefore the origin of trees and bushes lies in their seeds, so you were the seed of this most deplorable war. You, gentlemen, are grieving that three armies of the Roman people were destroyed: it was Antonius who destroyed them. You are mourning the loss of most distinguished citizens: of these too it was Antonius who robbed us. The prestige of this estate is impaired: it was Antonius who impaired it. In fine, if we rightly regard all the events which we have seen since that date—and what misfortune have we not seen?—we shall put them down as due to Antonius. As Helen to the Trojans, so my opponent has been to our republic the origin of calamity and ruin. The remaining portions of his tribuneship resemble its outset. He managed to do everything which the senate had managed should not be done while the republic was intact. But in his criminal course learn his particular crime.

XXIII.—56. He was restoring many who were degraded; among them not a word of his uncle. If he were stern, why not against all? if merciful, why not towards his own

relatives? But I pass over the rest : Licinius Denticula, his fellow-gambler, he did enfranchise again, though condemned for gambling, as though indeed it were not permitted to play with a condemned man ! But he did so in order to pay by favour of the law what he had lost in gambling. What reason did you advance to the Roman people why he ought to be re-enfranchised ? I suppose he was entered for prosecution in his absence ; the matter was decided without his pleading his case ; or according to the law the judgment concerning gambling went for nothing ; he was overcome by violence and the sword ; lastly, the sentence, which was pronounced on your uncle, was bought with bribery. Nothing of the sort. Ah ! but he was an honourable man and well worthy of the republic. That indeed is not at all to the point ; though, since to be condemned counts for nothing, I would forgive it on this understanding. He who fully restored a man as base as any, who did not hesitate to play at hazard in the Forum—restored him when condemned by the law about hazard—does he not most publicly proclaim his own bias ? 57. But in the same tribuneship, when Caesar, on starting for Spain, had handed Italy over to this fellow to be trampled under foot, how did he traverse our colonies ! how did he journey through the boroughs ! I am well aware I am dwelling on subjects most familiar in the conversation of everybody, and that what I am saying and am about to say are better known to all who were in Italy at that date, than to me who was not there : nevertheless I will emphasise individual points, although my speech will in no way be capable of coming up to your knowledge of the facts. And what scandal so great as this in men's ears ever appeared on earth ? what baseness so vile ? what disgrace so utter ?

XXIV.—58. The tribune of the plebs rode in a chariot ; bay-wreathed lictors used to precede it ; among whom an actress was carried in an open litter, whom honourable burgesses from the towns, advancing perforce to meet it, used to greet, not according to her well-known stage name, but as Volumnia. With the traces of these scandals he imprinted all boroughs, prefectures, colonies, in fine the whole of Italy.

59. Criticism of his remaining actions, fathers of the senate, is truly difficult and dangerous. He took part in the civil war; he glutted himself with the blood of citizens most unlike himself; he was successful, if there can be any success in crime. But since we wish the interests of the veterans to be safeguarded, although their case is different to yours—they followed their leader, while you sought him—nevertheless, lest you should raise odium against me in their minds, I will say nothing about the class of war. You came back conqueror to Brundisium with your legions from Thessaly. There you refrained from killing me. A great kindness! for I acknowledge you had the power: and yet there was no one of the men, who at that date were with you, who did not hold that I ought to be spared. 60. For so powerful is a man's love for his country that I was inviolable even to your legions, because they remembered their country was preserved by me. But suppose you had granted to me what you did not deprive me of, and that I hold my life from you because it was not taken away by you: was I permitted by your insult to bear in mind this favour of yours, as I tried to do, especially as I knew you would take your present violent course.

XXV.—61. You came to Brundisium, to your favourite actress. What is the matter? I am surely not lying, am I? How wretched a position it is to be unable to deny what it is most shameful to confess! If you were not ashamed for the boroughs, were you not for the veteran army even? Why, what soldier has there been who did not see her at Brundisium? who was not aware that she went a journey that took so many days to congratulate you? who that was not distressed to find out so late how worthless a fellow he had followed? 62. Again there was the progress through Italy with the same actress as your companion, the brutal and pitiful quartering of the soldiers on the towns, and in the city the disgraceful plundering of gold, silver, and in particular wine. To this was joined the fact that without Caesar's knowledge, since the latter was at Alexandria, he was appointed Master of the Horse by the kind services of his friends. Then he considered

that in virtue of his authority he could live with Hippas and hand over contract-horses to the actor Sergius. Then he had selected not his present house to dwell in, which now he retains with difficulty, but that of Marcus Piso. Why should I adduce my opponent's enactments, his plunderings, his seizure of legacies which he gave to or snatched from others? His poverty was urgent; he knew not whither to turn; such a large legacy had not yet come to him from Lucius Rubrius, nor from Lucius Turselius; he had not yet stepped as an heir of yesterday into the shoes of Gnaeus Pompeius and of many others who were away from town. He had to live after the fashion of highwaymen, so that he was master of just so much as he had been able to carry off.

But let us pass over these details which are part and parcel of his sturdier villainy: let us rather speak of frivolities of his of the very vilest kind. 63. With that gullet of yours, those flanks, that gladiatorial strength of body as a whole, you had drained off so much wine at Hippas' wedding that you were driven to vomiting the day after in the sight of the Roman people! What a scandal not only to look at but also to hear of! If this had befallen you during the banquet amid those barbarous draughts of yours, who would not deem it disgraceful? Yet in an assembly of the Roman people, bearing a public office, the Master of the Horse, to whom it would be disgraceful to hiccough, vomited and drenched his own bosom and the whole bench with gobbets of food smelling strongly of wine. But this he himself acknowledges to be among his meaner deeds; let us come to his nobler actions.

XXVI.—64. Caesar returned from Alexandria, successful, as he seemed to himself indeed, though in my estimation no man, if he be the enemy of the republic, can be successful. On the erection of the auction-spear before the Temple of Jupiter Stator, the property of Gnaeus Pompeius was put up for sale—ah, wretched me! for though my tears are used up nevertheless grief remains implanted in my mind—the property, I say, of Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus was put up to auction by the heartrending voice of the crier. At that single occurrence did the community groan

in forgetfulness of its slavery, and while their minds were enslaved, since all around was fast-bound in fear, yet the groan of the Roman people was free. While all the world looked to see who on earth could be so sacrilegious, so lost to sense, so hostile to gods and men as to venture to offer for that criminal sale, no one was found save Antonius, and that though there were so many surrounding the place of sale, who would dare everything else: he alone was found to venture on what the temerity of all had avoided and shrunk from. 65. Has so serious an idiocy, then, seized you or, to speak more truly, so serious a fit of madness that you are not aware that in the first place, because you are a land-grabber of such rank as you are, and in the next because you are a land-grabber of Pompeius' property, you are an object of execration and loathing to the Roman people, and that all the gods, aye all mankind, are and will be your adversaries? Ah! but how arrogantly did the rake in a moment dash upon the wealth of the hero by whose valour the Roman people was more dreaded by foreign nations, and by whose uprightness it was more endeared to them.

XXVII. When, then, he had suddenly plunged into this hero's property like the character in the farce, "poor a moment back, and suddenly wealthy," he revelled in his joy. But, as we find it in the works of some poet or other, "ill-gotten gains ill vanish away." 66. It is past belief and somewhat like a miracle how he squandered that large property, in how few—months I cannot say, but—days. There was a very large amount of wine, an enormous weight of the finest silver plate, valuable clothing, much princely furniture, superb too in many parts, not indeed the furniture of an extravagant man, but at any rate of one who was well off. Within a few days there was not a trace of all this. 67. Was ever a Charybdis so devouring? Charybdis am I saying? Why, if she existed she was one creature: so help me the god of faith, the Ocean could, it seems, scarce have engulfed so quickly things so numerous, so scattered, placed in spots so far removed. Nothing was locked, nothing was sealed, nothing was guarded in writing. Store-offices were granted pack and parcel to the most abandoned men. Some the actors swept off, others the

actresses: the house was crammed with gamblers, and stocked with drunkards; for whole days the drinking went on, and that too in several places: on the top of it all often came losses at gambling—for our friend was not always successful. You would see the beds of slaves in their attics covered with Gnaeus Pompeius' purple hangings. Wherefore cease to wonder that this property was used up so speedily: recklessness on such a scale would have been capable of speedily engulfing not only one man's inheritance, though princely, as that one was, but cities and kingdoms. 68. But again he fell upon the house too and the pleasure grounds. What barbarous effrontery! You dared even to set foot in that house? you dared to enter that most holy threshold? you to show your sin-stained face to the inmost gods of that house? In the house which for some time no one was able to behold, no one was able to pass by without tears, in that, I say, are you not ashamed to have lodged so long? for although you are devoid of perception, nothing in it can be pleasant to you.

XXVIII. Do you think, then, whenever you set eyes on those prows in the entrance-hall, that you are entering your own house? it cannot be. For however much you lack sense and feeling, as you do, you nevertheless know yourself and your belongings and your friends. And indeed I do not believe that you can be at ease in your mind either when awake or in your slumbers. It follows necessarily, that however wild and mad you may be, as you are, whenever the semblance of that peerless hero is presented to you, you are roused from sleep in alarm, and are out of your senses, too, often when awake. 69. For my part indeed I commiserate the very walls and roofs. Why, what had that house ever beheld except the chaste, what save in accordance with the highest character and the purest training? For that hero, fathers of the senate, was, as you know, not only renowned abroad but estimable at home, and was not to be extolled more highly for his foreign achievements than for his practices at home: in his abode we now have dens of vice for bedrooms, and houses of gluttony for dining-rooms. And yet he denies it at once: do not probe the matter: he has turned honest man:

he has divorced that actress, and taken from her the keys and turned her out. How worthy a citizen he is in a trice, how exemplary! and out of the whole of his life nothing is more creditable than the fact of his having divorced an actress. 70. Yes, but how frequently he employs the phrase, "a consul and an Antonius as well"—that is to say, "a consul and an utter rake to boot," "a consul and an utter villain too!" For if prestige were betokened in the name, your grandfather, I believe, would have styled himself "a consul and an Antonius as well"—he never did say it:—my colleague too would have said it, your uncle, except for the fact that you alone are an Antonius. But I pass over ~~those faults which are not special features of the rôle in which you harassed the republic: I return to your rôle in particular, namely to the civil war which was hatched, shaped and undertaken by your means.~~

XXIX.—71. But you were missing in this war not only on account of your cowardice but also on account of your passions. You had ~~tasted or rather gulped down the blood of fellow-citizens: in the line at Pharsalia you had been in the front of the fray: you had slain Lucius Domitius, a man of great fame and high rank, and many besides whom had escaped from the fight and whom Caesar probably would have saved, as he did in several cases, these you had pursued and butchered in the most savage manner. And when you had performed so brilliant achievements of such a nature, what was the reason you did not follow Caesar into Africa, particularly as such a large portion of the war was still remaining? And so what place did you hold in Caesar's suite after his return from Africa? of what account were you? Though you had been your commander's quaestor, his Master of the Horse when he was Dictator, the originator of the war, the leader in his barbarity, the partner in his booty, his son, as you yourself used to give out, by the terms of his will—you were summoned on the score of a sum of money of his, which you were owing for the house, for the pleasure-grounds, for the auction-sale.~~ 72. At first you replied quite spiritedly, and lest I should be thought to turn ~~everything to your disadvantage~~, you were urging what was almost fair and due. "Gaius Caesar demand money

from me? why rather so than I from him? did he, then, conquer without my aid? Why he was not even able to do so. It was I who put in his hands a ground for civil war; I, who moved ruinous bills; I, who bore arms against the consuls and generals of the Roman people, against the senate and Roman people, against the gods of our fathers and its altars and hearths, aye, against our own country. Did he conquer for himself alone? When men have the guilt in common why should not the booty be common to them?" You were demanding your rights, but what was that to the point? he was the more powerful. 73. And so dashing aside your pleas, he sent soldiers both to you and to your bail, when all of a sudden that famous catalogue of yours was exhibited by you. What merriment people indulged in! that there was such a huge catalogue, such varied and so numerous effects, of which there existed nothing except a share in Misenum for the vendor to style his own. Further it was a wretched show of a sale: clothing belonging to Pompeius, not much and that too stained, certain battered silver plate belonging to the same, squalid slaves, so that we were distressed that there was anything for us to see of Pompeius' well-known relics. 74. However, the sale, such as it was, was prohibited by the heirs of Lucius Rubrius in virtue of an edict. The rake was stranded: he knew not whither to turn. Nay, at this very moment an assassin sent by my opponent was caught, it is said, at Caesar's house, dagger in hand: and Caesar made complaint on this score in the senate, openly attacking you. Caesar sets out for Spain, after extending your term for payment a few days on the ground of poverty. You do not follow him even then. So doughty a gladiator retire from the profession so quickly? Would anybody, then, be alarmed at this fellow who was so chicken-hearted for his own party, I mean his own fortunes?

XXX.—75. He set out some time at last for Spain, but he was not able, as he says, to reach it safely. How then did Dolabella reach it, pray? Either you should not have undertaken that cause, Antonius, or when you had undertaken it, you should have championed it to the bitter end. Three times did Caesar fight to the death with his fellow-citizens, in Thessaly, Africa, and Spain. At all these battles

Dolabella was present: in the Spanish one he even received a wound. If you ask me my opinion, I could wish he had not been there; but yet while his policy deserved censure at the outset, still his unchangeableness deserves praise: but what are we to say of you? The sons of Gnaeus Pompeius were then striving to regain their country to begin with—be it so; granted that this was the joint aim of the party:—they were striving to regain besides the gods of their fathers, their altars and hearths, their own familiar home into which you had burst. When those to whom they belonged by the laws were seeking them by force of arms—although in unjust deeds what justice can there be? nevertheless who was it just should fight against the sons of Gnaeus Pompeius? who? You, the purchaser of their all.

Was Dolabella then to fight a pitched battle on your behalf in Spain, while you were bespewing the tables of your hosts at Narbo.

76. What was his return from Narbo? he was even asking why I had returned so suddenly from my journey actually. I have recently explained, fathers of the senate, the ground for my return: I meant, if I could, to be of service to the republic even before the 1st of January. For as to the question you put, how I had returned: to begin with, by daylight, not in the darkness, next with boots and a toga, with no French boots nor a mantle. Why are you even looking at me, and indeed angrily, as it appears. Really you would at once come back to good terms with me, if you knew how I am ashamed of your disgraceful conduct, of which you yourself are not ashamed. Of all the scandalous deeds of everybody, I have seen none baser, I have heard of none baser. Though you appeared to yourself to have been the Master of the Horse, though you were seeking or rather demanding the consulship for the following year, you scampered with French boots and a mantle through the boroughs and colonies of Gaul, from which country we were wont to seek the consulship at the period when the consulship was still sought for, and not demanded.

XXXI.—77. But see what a contemptible fellow he is. When he had come to the Red Rocks at about the tenth hour of the day, he buried himself in a certain miserable tavern,

and, hiding himself there, drank right on till evening; then being quickly driven to the city in a dog-cart he came home muffled up. "Who is it?" says the porter. "A post from Marcus." Forthwith he made his way to the woman for whose sake he had come, and handed her a letter. And when she read it in tears—for it was couched in lovers' language; for the main point of the letter was that he would in the future have nothing to do with the actress concerned; that he had removed all his affection from that quarter and had transferred it to her:—as the woman wept yet more copiously, our compassionate gentleman could stand it no longer: he uncovered his head and threw himself into her embrace. What a worthless man! for what else should I say? I can say nothing more to the point. So then in order that the woman might see you unexpectedly when you had shown yourself unawares, with this view you confounded the city with a night-alarm and Italy with panic for many days? 78. And at home indeed you had a good reason, namely affection, but abroad a baser one, namely to prevent Lucius Plancus selling your sureties' property. But when you were introduced to a public assembly by a tribune of the plebs, and had replied that you had come for the sake of your own affairs, you made the people witty at your expense. But too much of trifles: let us approach more important matters.

XXXII. When Gaius Caesar was returning from Spain you went out further than any one to meet him. You went and returned with great speed in order that he might recognise you, if not as brave, at any rate as pushing. You became his intimate friend again in some way or other. Caesar decidedly had this trait: he would very willingly receive into his intimate circle a man whom he knew to be utterly ruined by debt and in poverty, if he knew him to be also an abandoned and reckless man. 79. As you were superbly recommended on these heads, you were proclaimed consul at his order, and indeed with Caesar himself. I make no complaint concerning Dolabella, who was then pushed forward, entangled and baffled. And who is ignorant how vast was the treachery of each of you towards Dolabella on this score? Caesar withdrew and

appropriated to himself his pledge and undertaking: while you endorsed with your approval Caesar's treachery. New Year's Day comes: we are summoned to the senate; Dolabella delivered an attack on my opponent far fuller and better prepared than mine is now. 80. But, good heavens! the things our friend said in his anger! In the first place, though Caesar had published the fact that he intended to order Dolabella to be consul before he set out—and they assert he was no king though he was always doing and saying something of that nature:—but though Caesar had said so, yet our worthy augur here said he was endued with an office such as enabled him to hinder or invalidate the election by taking the auspices, and he vowed he would do it. And first see the idiocy of the fellow in the matter, idiocy past belief. 81. What pray? Would you have been less able to do what you said you could do in virtue of your office, if you had been consul only, and not also augur? Pray think whether you could not have done so even more easily. For we augurs have the right of report alone, while the consuls and the rest of the magistrates have the right of actually taking the auspices. But be it so. He spoke in ignorance; nor indeed must we demand legal lore from a fellow who is never sober: but do look at this effrontery. Many months previously he asserted in the senate that he would either veto Dolabella's election by the auspices or would do what he did. Can any one foretell what invalidity is likely to occur in the auspices, except one who has determined to see some sign from the heavens? Now this is not legal during an election; but if any one has seen signs, he should make report not when the election is being held, but before it is begun. However, ignorance is involved with his effrontery; he neither knows what befits an augur nor does what befits a respectable citizen. 82. And so just call to mind his consulship from that date till the 15th of March. What usher was ever so humble, so abased? He could do nothing of himself; he used to beg for everything; thrusting his head in at the back of the palanquin, he used to entreat from his colleague favours to sell.

XXXIII. Now comes the day of Dolabella's election: we have the lot-drawing for the first-voting century; he does

not stir. The ballot is declared; not a word. The first class is summoned, the vote is declared; next, just as the custom is, come the centuries of knights; then the second class is summoned: all of which took place sooner than I have said it. 83. When the affair is finished our worthy augur—you would call him a Gaius Laelius—says “Adjourned.” What unique effrontery! What had you seen? what had you felt? what had you heard? for you did not allege that you had seen any sign from the heavens nor do you say so to-day. So then that particular invalidity blocked the way, which you had already on New Year’s Day foreseen would come to pass and had foretold so long before. So then, by heaven! you forged auspices to the serious harm of yourself, I hope, rather than that of the republic, you fettered the Roman people by a religious scruple—augur yourself, you thwarted an augur with your report; consul yourself, a consul. I am unwilling to say more lest I should be thought to be overthrowing the proceedings of Dolabella which must necessarily be laid before our body at some future date. 84. But pray mark the arrogance and impudence of the fellow. As long as you so will, Dolabella is an invalidly elected consul: then again, when you do will it he is elected with due regard to the auspices. If it counts as nothing when an augur makes report in the words in which you reported, acknowledge that, when you said “Adjourned,” you were not sober: but if there be a meaning in your words, I demand to know what it is, as augur from a brother-augur.

XXXIV. But, for fear lest my speech should pass over one glorious action out of the many performances of Antonius, let us come to the Lupercalia. He does not conceal it, fathers of the senate; it is clear he is perturbed; he is perspiring and turns pale. Let him do anything, provided only he does not vomit, as he did in the Minucian Colonnade. What can be his defence for such great baseness? I am anxious to hear, in order to see where the huge salary of the declaimer, where the plain of Leontini makes itself seen. 85. Your colleague was sitting on the Rostra, clothed in a purple toga, in a golden chair, with a garland on his head. You ascend the steps, you approach the chair—granted you

were a Lupercus, yet you should have remembered you were a consul—you exhibit a crown. There is a groan all through the Forum. Whence came the crown? why you had not picked it up after it had been flung away; no, you had brought your crime from home, well-weighed and pondered. You essayed to set the crown on his brow amid the lamentation of the people: he was fain to refuse it amid general applause. So, then, since you were the originator of the kingdom, and wanted to have as despot the man you had as colleague, you alone were found, you villain, to make trial also of what the Roman people could suffer and endure. 86. Ah! but you also tried to win pity: you essayed to fling yourself as a suppliant at his feet. Seeking for what? to be a slave? You should have sought it for yourself alone, you who had lived from boyhood in such a way as to endure anything and could find it an easy thing to be a slave: you had not that commission at any rate from our estate and the Roman people. How striking was that oratory of yours, when you made your harangue in such scanty clothing! What could be baser than this? what more loathsome? what more worthy of the extremest penalties? Are you waiting till we prod you with goads? this speech of mine is rending you and drawing blood, if you have any particle of feeling. My fear is lest I should impair the renown of most distinguished men; nevertheless I will speak since I am harassed by grief. What is more scandalous than for the man to be living who placed the crown upon his head, when all allow that he who flung it from him was rightly killed? 87. Again, he actually ordered the following to be added at the Lupercalia in the Calendar of Feasts: to Gaius Caesar, perpetual dictator, the consul Marcus Antonius offered the throne by order of the people; Caesar refused to avail himself of it. *Now*, yes now, I am by no means surprised that you disturb our tranquillity; that you not only dislike the city, but even the light; that you drink in the company of the most abandoned highwaymen not only by day but for the day. Why, where will you find a foothold in peace? What place can there be for you in the domain of laws and courts, which you, as far as lay in your power, abolished

by the despotism of a monarch? Was it for this Lucius Tarquinius was driven out, and Spurius Cassius, Spurius Maelius and Marcus Manlius were slain, that many centuries later a king should be established at Rome by Marcus Antonius?

XXXV.—88. But let us come back to the auspices, concerning which Caesar was to speak in the senate on the 15th of March. I put the question: what would you have done then? For my part, people kept telling me that you had come ready-prepared, because you thought I should make a speech on the subject of the fabricated auspices, which all the same it was necessary to obey. Fortune swept away that day for the republic. Pray, did the death of Caesar also sweep away your judgment of the auspices? But I have plunged into the period, which must take precedence of the matters into which my speech had made its way. What a flight was yours! what a panic on that glorious day! how you despaired of life on account of your complicity in crime, at the moment when you secretly betook yourself home in flight by the kindness of those who were fain to have you in safety if only you were sound at heart! 89. Ah! my forebodings of coming events, ever most true but to no purpose! I kept telling our great liberators in the Capitol, when they wanted me to go to you to exhort you to defend the republic; I said that as long as you were in alarm, you would promise everything: but as soon as you had ceased to be afraid you would be like your own self again. And so while the rest of the ex-consuls moved hither and thither I was firm in my opinion: I neither beheld you on that day nor on the following, nor did I believe that any alliance could be established between right-minded citizens and a most persistent foe by any treaty. The second day after I came to the Temple of Tellus, and indeed against my inclination, since armed men were blocking all the entrances. 90. What a day that was for you, Antonius! although you suddenly appeared as my adversary, yet I pity you because you were at daggers-drawn with yourself.

XXXVI. By the immortal gods, what a man, how great a man you would have been, had you been capable of keeping your disposition of that day! We should have had

peace now, the peace made by means of the hostage child of high rank, Marcus Bambalio's grandson. Though you were made a good man by fear, no lasting teacher of duty, while you were made a rascal by what never leaves you while fear is absent,—recklessness. And yet at the moment when people thought you a most worthy man (though I indeed was not of their opinion), you took the lead in a most infamous manner at the despot's funeral, if that was a funeral. 91. That fine panegyric was yours, yours the moving address, yours the exhortation; you, you, I say, kindled those firebrands, not only those with which he was partly burnt, but also those with which Lucius Bellienus' mansion was set on fire and burnt to the ground. You let loose upon our dwellings those attacks of abandoned villains and slaves for the most part, whom we beat back with force of hand. In your own person nevertheless, with your soot as it were wiped from your face, on the remaining days in the Capitol you caused to be passed those brilliant edicts of the senate, providing that after the 15th of March no notice of exemption or of any boon should be published. You yourself remember what you said concerning the exiles, and you know what you said about exemption. But really the best thing was your abolishing the title of dictator for ever from the republic: and by this act indeed it appeared you were mastered by so powerful a dislike of monarchy that on account of the fear of the late dictator you abolished all suggestion of it. 92. The republic was thought by others to be now established, but not at all so by myself, who feared any shipwreck while you took the helm. Did he then deceive me? or was he able any longer to be unlike himself? Under your gaze notices were posted all over the Capitol, and exemptions were sold not only to individuals but also to whole nations: the franchise was granted no longer to individual men but to provinces as a whole. And so, if these are perpetual, which cannot be if the republic still exists, you have lost the provinces altogether, fathers of the senate: and not only the taxes, but also the empire of the Roman people is impaired by this fellow's private trafficking.

XXXVII.—93. Where are the five million nine hundred

and fifty thousand pounds which appear in the books at the Temple of Ops?—millions of that accursed money in truth, but nevertheless large enough to be able to set us free from the war-tax, in case it was not restored to those to whom it belonged. But pray how did you before the 1st of April cease to owe the three hundred and forty thousand pounds which you owed on the 15th of March? The favours are indeed past reckoning which were purchased from your minions not altogether without your knowledge, but one unique edict was posted on the Capitol concerning King Deiotarus, the very good friend of the Roman people: and when that was published there was on one who could check his laughter in the midst of his very distress. 94. Why, was ever a bitterer foe to any one than Caesar to Deiotarus? as bitter as to this estate, to that of the Knights, to the men of Marselles, to all by whom he perceived the republic of the Roman people was cherished. Therefore when Deiotarus neither in person nor by envoys gained any fair treatment from Caesar while alive, he became in high favour with Caesar now dead? In person Caesar had made a claim on his host, had cast up the account, had gained the money, had planted one of his Greek retinue in the king's tetrarchy, and had robbed him of Armenia granted to him by the senate. This is what he took away in life; when dead he restores them. 95. But in what terms? now that it struck him as fair, anon that it appeared to him not unfair. An astounding union of words! Ah! but Caesar never said—I always championed the absent Deiotarus, you are aware—never said that any demand which we made for the king seemed fair to him. A bond for £85,000 was drawn up by the agency of the envoys, honest men, but fearful and unbusiness-like without the approval of ourselves or of the remaining guest-friends of the king—in the women's apartments, a place in which very many things have been and are being sold. And I recommend you to consider what you are going to do in virtue of that bond: why of his own accord, without any "notes" of Caesar's, the king himself recovered his possessions with his sword, as soon as he heard of Caesar's death. 96. Being a wise man he was aware that this had always been the law, that what despots had taken away should, on the

murder of the despots, be recovered by the men from whom it had been taken. No legal adviser then, not even your friend who is a lawyer in your eyes only and by whose instrumentality you are doing it, asserts that the money is due, according to that bond, for property recovered before the bond was signed: for he did not purchase it from you, but was master of it before you could sell him his own. He acted as a man, while we indeed are to be despised who dislike the originator, but maintain the deeds done.

XXXVIII.—97. Why should I speak of the numberless notebooks, and of the countless signatures? there are actually hawkers of them to cry them for sale in public as if they were handbills of gladiators. And so such huge heaps of money are being piled up in his house that by this time sums are weighed out and not counted. But how blind avarice is! A document was recently posted whereby the wealthiest townships of Crete are set free from taxes, and it is decided that Crete shall not be a province after Marcus Brutus' pro-consulship. Are you master of your senses? Ought you not to be put in a strait jacket? Could Crete by Caesar's edict have been set free after Marcus Brutus' departure, when Crete had nothing to do with Brutus in Caesar's lifetime? But lest you should think nothing was done by this man's sale of the edict, you, O fathers, have lost the province of Crete. Not a single man at all has been a purchaser for anything but this man was at his service as a vendor. 98. And did Caesar bring in the bill concerning the exiles, which you posted up? I rail at no man's misfortune: I only complain, firstly, that the recall of men was put on the same level, whose case Caesar deemed on a different footing; next, I do not know why you should not assign the same boon to the rest: and indeed there are not more than three or four remaining. Why do not those who are in like misfortune not enjoy your compassion in the same manner? Why do you keep them on the footing of your uncle? about whom you refused to bring in a bill when you did about the rest: and whom you even incited to stand for the censorship, and you arranged his canvass, though it called forth both the laughter and complaints of mankind. 99. Now why did you not hold

that election? was it then because a tribune of the plebs was reporting thunder from the unpropitious quarter? When anything is to your interest, the auspices go for nought; when it is to that of your friends, then you turn into a man full of scruples. Well? did you not abandon him again in the matter of the Board of Seven? For some one interfered to whom, I believe, you feared you could not refuse it with safety. You loaded with insults the man whom you should have cherished in the light of a father, if any filial duty were in you. You divorced his daughter, your cousin, when you had sought for and previously seen your way to another match. The matter cannot rest there: you have charged with disgraceful conduct a most modest lady. What is there that can be joined to this? You were not satisfied with it. On New Year's Day in a densely crowded senate, and when your uncle had taken his seat, you dared to assert that this was the ground of your quarrel with Dolabella, that you had discovered that he had offered violence to your cousin and wife. Who can divine whether you were the more brazen-faced for saying it in the senate, or more abandoned for bringing it against Dolabella, or more indecent for stating it in the hearing of your uncle, or more inhuman for uttering it so foully, so scandalously against that wretched woman?

XXXIX.—100. But let us come back to the autograph documents. What investigation was there on your part? For Caesar's deeds were sanctioned by the senate for peace's sake, that is such as Caesar had been responsible for, but not such as Antonius had alleged Caesar had performed. Whence does your stock spring from? on whose authority are they published? if they are forged, why are they approved? if true, why are they for sale? But it had been so decreed that on the 1st of June you should hold an investigation concerning Caesar's deeds with a Board of Commissioners. What Board existed? whom did you ever summon? what 1st of June did you wait for? that, pray, on which, after traversing the colonies of the veterans, you returned surrounded with arms?

What a notable progress was that of yours in the months of April and May, at the period when you attempted even

to lead a colony to Capua! We are well aware how you departed from that spot or rather almost failed to depart. 101. And yet you are threatening that city. Oh that you may make the attempt that sometime or other that "almost" may be put an end to! But how brilliant is that travel of yours! Why should I expose the preparations for lunch, or your mad winebibbing? Those are *your* losses: ours are these. You were for parcelling out to your companions at feast and play the Campanian territory, though when it was made exempt from taxes in order to be assigned to the soldiery, we nevertheless considered a great blow was being inflicted on the state. I am speaking of actors and actresses, fathers of the senate, planted in the Campanian territory. Why should I proceed to complain about the land of Leontini? since indeed in days of old these Campanian and Leontine tilths were reported to be highly fertile and profitable in the inheritance of the Roman people. Two thousand acres to a physician: what if he had restored you to your senses? twelve hundred and fifty to a professional orator: what if he could have made you eloquent? But let us come back to his Italian journey.

XL.—102. You led a colony to Casilinum, whither Caesar had previously led one. You *did* take my advice, I grant, by letter concerning Capua, but I should have given the same reply on the subject of Casilinum: whether you could (such was your question) duly lead a fresh colony to the place where there was one. I replied in the negative, that a fresh colony could not duly be led to such a colony as had been founded under due auspices, provided it was intact: I wrote in reply that fresh colonists could be enrolled. But inflated with arrogance, you overthrew every right of the auspices and led a colony to Casilinum, whither one had been led a few years before, in order to raise the standard and to guide the plough round the spot: and with its share indeed you nearly grazed the gate of Capua, so that the ground of a prosperous colony was impaired. 103. From this act of overthrowing religious sanctity, you fly to the farm at Casinum belonging to Marcus Varro, a man most scrupulous and upright. By what right? with what impudence? With the same, you will say, with which you seized upon

the estates of Lucius Rubrius' heirs, and into those of Lucius Turselius' heirs, and into the other properties too numerous to calculate. And if you obtained them from an auction, let the auction be valid, let the auction-register be valid, provided it is Caesar's and not yours; that according to which you were in debt, not that by which you set yourself free from debt. As for Varro's farm at Casinum, who asserts it was for sale? who saw the auction-spear of the sale you allege? who heard the voice of the crier? You state that you sent a man to Alexandria to purchase it from Caesar. Why it was a great matter to wait for Caesar himself! 104. More than this, who ever heard that anything of Varro's property—no man's welfare was an object of care to more of us—that anything of Varro's was confiscated? Besides! if Caesar actually wrote to you to restore it, what language strong enough can be used concerning such effrontery? Just for a moment withdraw the swords we see: in a trice you will recognise that Caesar's auction is one matter, and your presumption and recklessness quite another: for you will be dislodged from that abode not only by its master, but by any friend of his, neighbour, or guest, or by the steward.

XLI. Ah! for how many days have you persistently held revel in a most disgraceful manner in that country-seat! From nine in the morning went on drinking, play and vomiting. How wretched was the very house with a master so different! And yet how was my opponent its master! Well, at any rate by how different a man was it occupied! for Marcus Varro intended it to be the shelter of his literary work, not of lust. 105. What words were uttered in that seat in days gone by! what thoughts were conceived! what ideas were set on record! The law-codes of the Roman people, the memorials of our forefathers, the philosophy of wisdom and of learning in their entirety. But really when you were its occupier—for I do not say when you were its master—every corner rang with the accents of the intoxicated, the pavements swam with wine, the walls reeked. People kept coming to offer their respects from Casinum, Aquinum and Interamna. No one was permitted to enter. That indeed was rightly arranged; for in a man

so utterly degraded, the outward signs of his position were being put in the background. 106. On starting for Rome from that place, when he was approaching Aquinum, there came forth to meet him a large crowd indeed, as it is a populous borough. But my opponent was carried through the town in a closed litter like a dead man. The inhabitants of Aquinum acted foolishly; but all the same they lived on the highroad. What then of the people of Anagnia? Though they were off the road they came down to it to greet my opponent as if he were a consul. It is startling to relate: nevertheless it was agreed among all the neighbours there that no one was greeted in return, and that though he had two natives of Anagnia in his train, Mustela and Laco, one of whom is beyond a rival with the sword, the other with the flagon. 107. Why should I recount those threats and insults of my opponent, with which he attacked the Sidicini, and worried the people of Puteoli, for having adopted Gaius Cassius and the Bruti as their patrons? Yes, they received them with great enthusiasm, discernment, good-will and affection, and not as they did you and Basilus with violence and weapons, and as they did others resembling you, whom no one would be ready to have as dependents, much less to be *their* dependent.

XLII. Meanwhile during your absence what a day was that in your colleague's history, when he overthrew in the Forum the sepulchre you were accustomed to worship! but when the occurrence was reported to you, as was well agreed among those who were in your company, you sank to the ground. What happened afterwards I do not know—I believe fear and an armed force prevailed:—you dragged down your colleague indeed from the acme of his fame, and brought it to pass, not indeed even now that he should resemble you, but at any rate that he should not resemble himself.

108. But what was your return from that place to Rome! what the consternation of the whole city! We could remember Cinna in his excessive power, and Sulla afterwards in his despotism; and but recently we had seen Caesar in his monarchy. Swords there probably were, but they were concealed and not so very many. But this savagery of

yours—how alarming and how vast it is! In marching order, sword in hand, they come in your train: we see litters of shields being carried along. And really now that these sights have by this time grown upon us, fathers of the senate, we have become callous through use. On the 1st of June, when we intended to come into the senate, as had been arranged, we were panic-stricken with alarm and scattered in a moment in different directions. 109. But my opponent, because he had no need of the senate, did not miss any one, but rather made merry at our departure, and at once carried out those startling achievements. Though he had maintained Caesar's autograph notes for his own gain, he overturned Caesar's laws, and those too excellent laws, in order that he might ruin the republic. He extended the term of years for the government of the provinces, and again, whereas he should have been the champion of Caesar's deeds, he annulled Caesar's deeds both in public and in private affairs. Now in public affairs nothing is more weighty than a law, in private affairs a will is immutable beyond everything else. As to the laws, some he abolished without promulgation, while others he promulgated only to abolish them. With regard to the will, he made it of no effect, though a will has always been maintained even for the meanest citizens. As for the busts and pictures which Caesar bequeathed to the Roman people together with the park, in some cases he carried them off to Pompeius' park, in others to Scipio's seat.

XLIII.—110. And *you* are zealous in your recollection of Caesar? *you* love him though he is dead? What greater dignity had he gained than to have a sacred couch, an image, a pediment and a flamen? So then just as Jupiter and Mars and Quirinus, so the deified Julius has his flamen, Marcus Antonius. Why then are you delaying? why are you not consecrated? Choose a day, look out for some one to consecrate you; we are brother-augurs; no one will refuse. O you execrable fellow, whether for being the priest of a despot or of a dead man! I next ask if you are ignorant what to-day is? Are you not aware that yesterday was the fourth day of the Roman Games in the Circus? and that you yourself proposed to the people that a fifth day besides should

be assigned to Caesar? Why are we not in our festival robes? why do we permit the honour paid to Caesar by your bill to be abandoned? Did you, then, permit the public thanksgivings to be violated by adding an extra day, but yet were you unwilling for the sacred couches to be outraged? Either abolish religious observance on all hands or maintain it everywhere. 111. You ask whether I am satisfied there should be a sacred couch, a pediment, a flamen? For my part I am satisfied with none of them: but you, sir, who champion Caesar's deeds, what reason can you give why you should maintain some and pay no heed to others? unless perhaps you are ready to confess that you refer everything to the standard of your own gains and not of his prestige. What pray do you answer to this? why, I am looking forward to your eloquence: I know that your grandfather was a most capable orator, but that you are still more open in speech; he never made an harangue in airy costume, we have seen your open breast, you plain-spoken man:—will you give an answer to this, or will you venture to open your mouth at all? will you discover anything in my long speech to which you are sure you can reply?

XLIV.—112. But let us pass over events gone by: defend, if you can, this one day, one, I say, this one day, this moment of time at which I am speaking. Why is the senate hemmed in by a ring of armed men? why do your minions listen to me sword in hand? why are not the gates of the Temple of Concord open? why do you bring down into the Forum men the most savage of all the nations, Ityraeans, armed with their bows and arrows? He alleges that he does it for his own defence. Then is it not better to die a thousand times over than not to be able to live in one's own state without the protection of armed men? But, believe me, your protection is no protection: you should be encircled by the affection and goodwill of your fellow-citizens and not by weapons. 113. The Roman people will snatch and wrest those arms from you, and may it be without our destruction! but in whatever way you have behaved to us, while you employ your present designs, you cannot, believe me, you cannot live for long. And really your wife there, a woman

by no means avaricious (and I am delineating her without any insult), has for far too long been owing her third instalment to the Roman people. The Roman people *does* possess men to whom to offer the helm of the state: and wherever in the world they are there is the whole defence of the republic or rather the republic in person, which so far has simply avenged itself and has not yet recovered its strength. The republic *does* possess at any rate young men of the highest birth ready as its champions: however much they are for retiring in the interests of their own repose, they will be called back by the republic. As the name of peace is sweet, so the thing itself is full of blessing; but there is the widest difference between peace and slavery. Peace is liberty undisturbed; slavery is the extreme of all misfortunes, and must be beaten back not only by war but even by death.

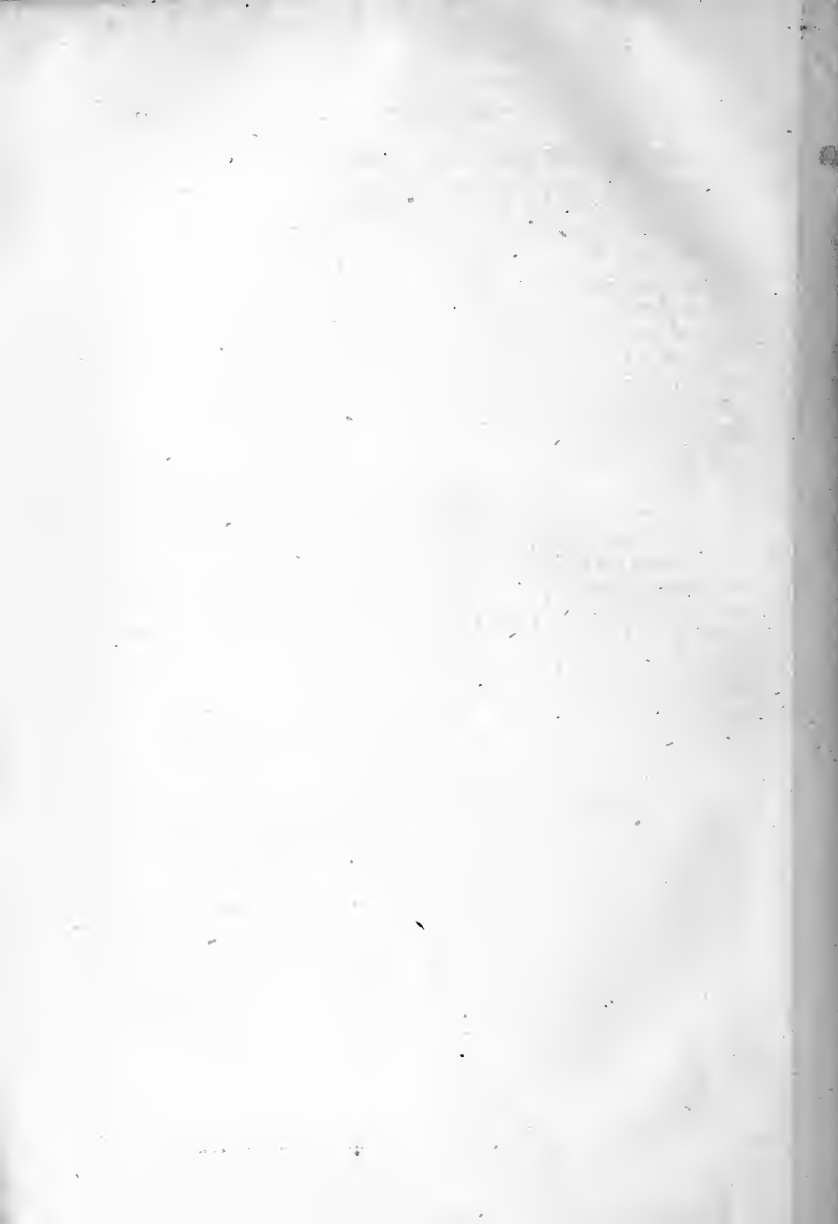
114. Now if those deliverers of ours have withdrawn from our sight, yet they have left the example of their deed. What no man had done, they did. Brutus harried Tarquinius with war, who was king at the date when kingship was lawful at Rome; Spurius Cassius, Spurius Maelius, Marcus Manlius, were put to death on the suspicion of aiming at monarchy: for the first time our friends made an assault sword in hand not on a man who was aiming at monarchy but on him who *was* monarch. And this achievement is not only glorious and superhuman in itself, but is also set forth for imitation, the more so as they attained such renown as seems scarce capable of being contained within the firmament. For although there was reward enough in the mere knowledge of a most noble deed, nevertheless I hold that mortal man should not despise fame's immortality.

XLV.—115. Then call to memory, Marcus Antonius, the great day on which you abolished the Dictatorship; set before your eyes the joy of the Roman senate and people, contrast it with this monstrous trafficking you and your friends are carrying on: then you will comprehend what a chasm there is between gain and glory. But doubtless just as certain people do not perceive the savouriness of food through some disease or numbing of a sense, so the lustful, the avaricious, the wicked do not possess the taste for true glory. But if glory cannot woo you to doing right, cannot

even fear call you back from the basest actions? You have no fear of the law-courts. If it is on account of innocence, I congratulate you; but if it is on account of violence, you do not understand what is to be feared by the man who does not fear the law-courts in that way. 116. For if you have no dread of enterprising men and noble-minded citizens, because they are repelled by arms from your person, your own minions, believe me, will not tolerate you longer. And what kind of life is it day and night to be alarmed from the quarter of one's own followers? Unless indeed either you have men bound to you by greater boons than the dead man had certain of those by whom he was slain, or you are in any point to be put on the same footing with him. In him were to be found ability, thinking power, memory, literary knowledge, watchfulness, keenness of thought, and assiduity; in war he had carried out operations, although ruinous to the republic, yet all the same important; after planning for many years to be monarch, he had accomplished his design with great toil and numerous hazards; he had soothed the inexperienced rabble with spectacles, memorials of their age, largesses, and banquets; he had fettered his adherents by rewards, his opponents by a show of mercy: to cut the story short, partly through fear, partly through endurance he had already foisted on a free commonwealth the habit of servitude.

XLVI.—117. With him I can compare you in point of your desire for despotism, but on all other heads you are no way to be set on a level with him. But out of the numerous evils which were branded on the republic by him, this blessing nevertheless did arise, that the Roman people by this time learnt how much trust it should put in each man, to whom it should confide itself, against whom it should be on its guard. 118. Have you no thought of this? do you not comprehend that it is enough for enterprising men to have learnt how glorious in the deed it is to slay a despot, how pleasant as a boon, how glorious in renown? Will they tolerate you, then, now that men have not tolerated the dead man? Men will vie with one another, believe me, hereafter in rushing to this task, and the delay of an opportunity will not be waited for.

Be sane again, I pray, once more, Marcus Antonius: bethink you of the stock from which you are sprung, not those with whom you are living; treat me as you will; but be reconciled with the republic. But as to your own case you must see to that; as for me I will make a profession concerning myself. I championed the republic in my youth, and will not abandon it in my old age; I scorned the swords of Catilina, and will not shrink from yours. Nay, more, I would readily offer my head, if by my death the freedom of the state may be regained, so that at length the chagrin of the Roman people may bring forth what it has been now conceiving for a long time. 119. And indeed, if almost twenty years ago in this very temple I stated that death could not be premature for an ex-consul, with how much more truth will I now assert that it is not so to an old man! For me indeed, fathers of the senate, by this time death is even an object of desire, now that I have achieved the honours I have gained and the actions I have done. These two points alone I desire: one, that in the hour of death I may leave the Roman people free—no greater boon than this can be granted me by the immortal gods;—the second, that each man's lot may so befall him as he deserves of the republic.



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